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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	EB-01	OIGO-01
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-14	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/037W
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O 091639Z FEB 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0162
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 000444

DEPT FOR PRM AND AF/C

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, RW
SUBJECT: PREPARING FOR BUJUMBURA

REF: STATE 28975

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT

2. THE REFERENCED CABLE IS A MOST HELPFUL SUMMARY OF
WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN THE
BUJUMBURA CONFERENCE ACTION PLAN AND OF US POSITIONS ON
REFUGEE RELATED-ISSUES. MAY I OFFER IN RETURN TWO
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QUIBBLES, TWO CAUTIONS AND ONE EXTENDED DISCOURSE ON RECONCILIATION/CONFIDENCE BUILDING.

3. QUIBBLE ONE: PUTTING REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS TOGETHER ON ISSUES CONFUSES CATEGORIES BECAUSE THEY COME UNDER VERY DIFFERENT LAW REGIMES. DISPLACED PERSONS, FOR EXAMPLE, CANNOT BE REPATRIATED; THEY ARE ALREADY IN THEIR COUNTRY, PROTECTED BY ITS LAWS. DISCUSSIONS ABOUT REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS OUGHT TO BE DISAGGREGATED IN THE ACTION PLAN. QUIBBLE TWO: FORCEFUL CLOSURE OF IDP CAMPS IS NOT A CURRENT ISSUE IN RWANDA; RAISING IT WOULD IGNORE THE PROGRESS THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND UN/NGO AGENCIES HAVE MADE IN RESETTLEMENT. CAUTION ONE: I WOULD NOT PUT MUCH WEIGHT ON TWAGIRAMUNGA'S DISCUSSION OF AMNESTY; SO FAR WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE WHETHER HE WAS MAKING POLICY OR MERELY SPECULATING. CAUTION TWO: EVERYONE HERE CONSIDERS THE SAFE ZONE CONCEPT DEAD, KILLED AT THE NAIROBI SUMMIT. I AGREE WITH THE CONCLUSIONS OF PARA ELEVEN BUT CAUTION AGAINST VOICING THEM LEST WE REVIVE A SPECTER.

4. RECONCILIATION/CONFIDENCE BUILDING: THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA HAS TWO PROBLEMS: OUTSIDE CAPITAL CITY, THE GOVERNMENT HAS HESITATINGLY EXTENDED A WRIT WHICH THE LOCAL POPULACE IS LOATH TO CREDIT WITH LEGITIMACY; OUTSIDE ITS BORDERS, TWO MILLION REFUGEES CROWD INTO FETID CAMPS AND DREAM OF REPOSSESSING THEIR LAND FROM RPF INTERLOPERS. THE ANSWER TO BOTH THESE PROBLEMS LIES IN EXPANDED POLITICAL DIALOGUE WHICH WILL GIVE SOME PURCHASE ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS TO THESE DISENCHANTED, DISENFRANCHISED ELEMENTS.

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5. THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS COMMITMENT TO MORE OPEN POLITICAL PROCESS IN MANY WAYS: FREE PRESS, PARTIAL INTEGRATION OF THE ARMY, PERSONNEL ASSIGNMENTS THAT CUT ACROSS ETHNIC, PARTY AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES, REPLACEMENT OF MILITARY AUTHORITY WITH CIVILIAN RULE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL; OPEN ACCESS FOR UN AND NGO EXPATRIATES TO ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. BUT THE SAME GOVERNMENT HAS CONSISTENTLY COUNTERED DEMANDS THAT

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IT ENGAGE EXTERNAL OPPOSITION IN DIALOGUE WITH A CONVENIENT PARTY, "DO YOU WANT US TO SIT DOWN WITH CRIMINALS?" THERE ARE SEVERAL REASONS FOR THIS INTRANSIGENCE:

A. MANY OF THE LEADERS IN EXILE, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, ARE TARRED BY THE MASSACRE. THEY EITHER PLANNED IT, CONDONED IT, OR HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY TRIED TO JUSTIFY IT BY ACCUSING THE RPF OF SIMILAR CRIMES AGAINST MANKIND.

B. THE GOVERNMENT SEES OUR URGINGS TO DIALOGUE AS AN INVITATION TO NEGOTIATE WITH A DEFEATED FORCE. THIS WOULD GIVE TO THE OTHER SIDE A LEGITIMACY AND SUBSTANCE WHICH IS NOT ITS DUE.

C. BRINGING BACK FORMER REGIME ELEMENTS THROUGH NEGOTIATION COULD RECREATE THE KIND OF POLITICAL GRIDLOCK THAT REKINDLED CIVIL WAR A YEAR AGO. THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT AFFORD TO INCORPORATE WITHIN ITS DECISION-MAKING PROCESS PERSONS OR PARTIES WHOSE AMBITION IS TO FORESTALL THE CURRENT REORDERING OF NATIONAL POLICY.

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D. ALL POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE PRESENT COALITION WANT TO UPROOT HABYARIMANA'S PARTY, THE MRND, AND SUCH ELEMENTS OF THEIR OWN ORGANIZATIONS WHICH FAVORED ETHNIC MAJORITARIANISM (ENCOMPASSED IN THE EPITAPH "PAWA.") KEEPING THOSE ELEMENTS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY OR IMPOTENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY PERMITS CURRENT LEADERSHIP TO BUILD THEIR OWN POLITICAL NETWORK UNOPPOSED AND ESTABLISH THEIR RESPECTIVE BASES FOR EVENTUAL NATIONAL ELECTIONS.

6. IN SUM, THE GOVERNMENT WANTS RWANDAN PEOPLE WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE COUNTRY TO ACQUIESCE TO THE NEW ORDER. IT DOES NOT WISH TO HAZARD THE UNCERTAINTIES OF POLITICAL COMPETITION WITH THOSE WHO CHALLENGE ITS IDEOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES. THOSE WHO DO NOT ACCEPT THE CURRENT IDEOLOGY ARE SEEN NOT JUST AS POLITICAL

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CHALLENGERS BUT AS REGIME OPPONENTS. AS KAGAME NOTED
LAST MARCH WHEN ASKED TO INCORPORATE THE POLITICAL WING
OF THE CDR WITHIN THE TRANSITION LEGISLATURE, "THAT IS
NOT A POLITICAL PROBLEM BUT A SECURITY PROBLEM AND WE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 000444

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WILL DEAL WITH IT AS A SECURITY PROBLEM." POLITICAL EXCLUSION THUS REMAINS A PRIMORDIAL PROBLEM IN RWANDA; ABSENT AN ARRANGEMENT THAT GIVES THEM A STAKE IN THE POLITICAL ORDER, RWANDA'S DISGRUNTLED AND DISENFRANCHISED WILL CONSTITUTE A SUBVERSIVE THREAT TO A CONGENITALLY UNSTABLE REGIME.

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7. WHAT'S TO BE DONE? REGIME STABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS IS A GOAL OF THE JOURNEY RWANDA AND THE DONORS STARTED TOGETHER AT THE UNDP ROUNDTABLE. THE SUBSEQUENT REGIONAL CONFERENCE IN BUJUMBURA WILL HOPEFULLY HELP US AGREE ON PRACTICAL ACTIONS TO HURRY REFUGEES HOME. BUT BUJUMBURA WILL NOT BE CONDUCTIVE TOWARD EVIDENT PROGRESS ON POLITICAL RECONCILIATION. THE DOMESTIC SITUATION THERE IS TOO VOLATILE; THE CONFERENCE AGENDA IS TOO EXTERNAL TO RWANDAN CONCEPTIONS. THE RWANDANS WILL BE ON ALIEN TERRITORY AND IN A DEFENSIVE, TRUCULENT MOOD. WE SHOULD BE CAUTIOUS IN OUR EXPECTATIONS FOR ANY BREAKTHROUGH IN BUJUMBURA ON POLITICAL DIALOGUE. THAT SHOULD NOT DETER US FROM OFFERING FORMALLY, AND IN THE CORRIDORS, IDEAS THAT MIGHT BUILD POLITICAL BRIDGES FOR RWANDANS. A NOTIONAL AND INCOMPLETE LIST OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING INITIATIVES MIGHT INCLUDE:

-- PROGRESSIVE REPATRIATION OF ORPHANS WITH THEIR SUPPORTING AGENCIES MOVING OPERATIONS TO RWANDAN SOIL;

--UNAMIR TO COORDINATE WITH GOR IN PRECLEARANCE OF EX-FAR TO ACCELERATE REPATRIATION AND INTEGRATION;

-- PRE-CLEARING WITH UN ASSISTANCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CADRE AND TEACHERS WHO WANT TO RETURN;

-- INCENTIVES TO PAY TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE CADRE FOR RETURNING;

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-- BORDERLAND OR CAPITAL CITY MEETINGS OF CHURCH LEADERS
WITH SAFE CONDUCT PASSES TO BORDER AREAS OR KIGALI FOR
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LRADERS COMING FROM CAMPS;

-- MEETINGS OF CIVIL SOCIETY WITHIN RWANDA (KIGALI OR
BUTARE) OR WITHOUT RWANDA (NAIROBI OR ARUSHA) TO BRING
TOGETHER LAWYERS, WOMEN, HUMAN RIGHTS AND YOUTH GROUPS
FROM DIFFERENT POLITICAL PERSUASIONS IN SEARCH OF COMMON
GROUND;

-- REGULARIZED CONSULTATION OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE AND
SECURITY OFFICIALS IN BORDERS AREAS WITH TANZANIA AND
ZAIRE;

-- PARALLEL MEDIATION EFFORTS BY EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN
LKADERS (POSSIBLY PRESIDENT NYERERE OR MOSES OKUMO) TO
FLESH OUT POSSIBILITIES OF HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT AND
RECONCILIATION STRATEGIES.

-- MORE PRIVATE CONFERENCES LIKE THOSE OF THE HAGUE,
OUAGADOUGOU, LONDON (NEWICK INITIATIVE) WHICH LET
RWANDAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES AND EXTERNAL LEADERS
DISCUSS RWANDAN PROBLEMS OUTSIDE OF THE POLICY
APPARATUS.

8. THE IDEA IS TO INDUCE THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO FACE
INTO ITS PROBLEM OF POLITICAL ESTRANGEMENT WITH
PRACTICAL PROGRAMS THAT HAVE APPEAL AND SALIENCY FOR ITS
INTERESTS. IDEALLY, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD COME TO CLAIM
SUCH INITIATIVES AS IDEAS OF ITS OWN.

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